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HISTORIC ABORIGINAL GROUPS OF THE
CALIFORNIA DELTA REGION

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INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this paper is to provide an historical background for archaeological work in Central California. Most of the sources available have been cited by H. H. Bancroft,¹ but we found that they contained considerable additional material likely to be of interest to the ethnologist because it helps us to evaluate archaeological evidence and serves as a link between such evidence and the accounts obtained from natives. In the present treatment the ethnological features of the early historical accounts have been stressed, probable routes have been mapped, groups and villages of aborigines have been located, and an attempt has been made to correlate the data thus obtained into an account giving the size, location, habits of sustenance and travel, and affiliations of the aboriginal population. This account, with similar data given in a previous paper,² covers the entire great central valley of California.

Brief digests will first be given of all accounts recording visits into the region from the first one in 1772 until the general influx of whites in 1849. Most of the accounts have been preserved in the form of diaries of the Spanish priests who accompanied various expeditions. Many of the documents are not generally available, being still in manuscript form. They are cited in detail in the bibliography at the end of this paper.

The recorded expeditions were usually brief exploring or punitive trips undertaken by a few soldiers, a leader, a priest, and sometimes native auxiliaries or guides. They commenced soon after the Spaniards first reached San Francisco bay in 1769 and continued for more than

¹ H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, 1884.

² E. W. Gifford and W. Egbert Schenck, *The archaeology of the southern San Joaquin valley*, present series, XXIII, 1-122, pls. 1-34, 1 map, 1926.

sixty-five years without effecting a settlement or becoming essentially different in their nature. From about 1829-34 conditions radically changed. Anglo-Saxons began to arrive and settle in the region. Hence, very soon after 1834 the country lost its primitive aspect and its history no longer concerns us.

There follow, for each expedition, the year, the leader, the recording priest, the route taken, and the observations made which are pertinent to the present study. The names and probable locations of the peoples seen are compiled in table 1 and the maps, figures 1 and 2. It should be emphasized that the maps are approximations only. In the case of figure 2 particularly, the intention is to show the different regions in which given peoples seem to have been most definitely concentrated, without implying that hard and fast boundary lines existed between them and without endeavoring to set these down in detail if they did exist. There are variations in the accentuation and spelling of both Spanish and Indian names. We have followed the form used by Bancroft, or by the authority cited for a given expedition.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS

1772. Captain Pedro Fages and Padre Juan Crespi reached the San Joaquin river just above its junction with the Sacramento to form Suisun bay. Here they noted native settlements. (Near Antioch, in the vicinity of Sec. 13, T2N, R1E.)³

1776. (a) In April of this year Lieutenant-Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza, Ensign José Joaquín Moraga, and Padre Pedro Font reached the same point. They then skirted the western margin of the great tule marsh, endeavoring to cross it to the eastern mountains. Abandoning the idea after about twenty miles, they returned to Monterey probably via the Livermore valley.

Near the western entrance to Carquinez strait they observed a native village of 400 inhabitants and in the same vicinity great mounds of fresh-water mussel shells on the beach. The existence of the village and the shellmounds close together might indicate that the two represented different cultural stages, and since the village was inhabited the shellmounds would be the older. Or the fact may indicate that the shellmounds were used part of the time only, or represented only one phase of the life of the village inhabitants.

Within the strait well-made rafts of tule were noted. From these, Indians were fishing in Suisun bay with nets.

³ The townships and ranges are based on the Mount Diablo Meridian. A township is six miles from south to north; a range six miles from west to east; a section, a mile square.

Along the southern margins of Suisun bay deer abounded to such an extent that their tracks made it appear as though immense herds of cattle were thereabouts. Later the party noticed many well beaten game trails extending into the San Joaquin marsh, and saw there vast herds of elk (probably tule elk) and deer.

Near the mouth of the San Joaquin river they saw a "good sized" Indian village with huts not more than twelve paces from the water. This they named San Ricardo. An abandoned village was seen somewhat farther east. These are no doubt the villages noted by Fages. Later in their march they observed a small village "amid the reeds."

(b) In September of the same year Ensign José Joaquín Moraga led a party across the coast ranges to the San Joaquin, probably in T1S, then three days' march up that river. Here the natives showed a ford, and the party crossed the San Joaquin and traveled a day in the plain east of the river. This expedition probably reached the vicinity of the mouth of the Calaveras river, near the present city of Stockton.

(c) Finally, in November, Captain Rivera, Ensign Moraga, and a party practically repeated this trip, but did not get quite so far although they forded the river. Ensign Sal reported in 1796 that Rivera on this expedition named four rivers: Río del Pescadero (the western channel of the San Joaquin); thence a quarter of a league east the Río San Francisco Javier (the middle channel of the San Joaquin); then two leagues farther the Río San Miguel (the eastern San Joaquin channel); and thence five leagues the Río de la Pasión. This would make it possible for the Río de la Pasión to be the Calaveras river, and subsequent expeditions, notably those of 1805 and 1806, seem to confirm this identity.

1805. Mayordomo Higuera and Padre Cueva of the Mission San José visiting sick neophytes were attacked by the *Leucheas*, who lived apparently on the banks of the San Joaquin in about T1 or 2S. A punitive party under Sergeant Peralta punished the offenders in their village called *Pitenis* (fig. 2). Subsequently gentile chieftains from distant villages in the central valley came to assure the Spaniards that they had taken no part in the attack.

1806. (a) "Before the autumn" of this year a party, sent out to find a land route to Bodega bay, reached the Río de la Pasión (the Calaveras river?).

(b) Before September, Ensign Gabriel Moraga had visited the San Joaquin river (probably north of the Merced river) and given it its present name.

(c) In September Ensign Gabriel Moraga and Padre Muñoz marched across the coast range east of Mission San Juan Bautista and

crossed the tule marshes and the San Joaquin river about halfway between its eastern affluents, the Chowchilla river and Mariposa creek. Keeping a few miles east of the San Joaquin, probably not far from the modern state highway, they proceeded north crossing and naming in succession the following streams (fig. 1): Mariposas arroyo (Bear creek), whence exploring parties were sent out to the east; Río Nuestra Señora de la Merced (Merced river), which was explored into the foothills; Río Nuestra Señora de los Dolores (Tuolumne river); Río Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Stanislaus river), explored well into the mountains. At the Río de la Pasión (Calaveras river?) they turned back, the party dividing into two troops, one of which kept near the San Joaquin and the other well in the foothills. This party passed up the entire length of the San Joaquin valley to its southern end. Only the facts pertinent to aboriginal life which they observed north of the Chowchilla river are here noted.

"Many gentiles" were encountered on the banks of the Calaveras river, apparently in the vicinity of Stockton. These were very friendly, but were totally different from the other Indians met. From the Stanislaus river south "many gentiles" were seen in the foothills, and many were also seen along the Merced river where numerous foot paths which they used were noted. Most of these people were very timid and fled on the approach of the Spaniards. Those in the foothills displayed some signs of hostility, possibly because they felt more secure. Besides the references to population given in table 1, Muñoz mentions from five to seven unnamed villages in the foothills along the Merced river, and six unnamed villages were reported to him as being above *Taulamne*. In the vicinity of Mariposa creek on the east bank of the San Joaquin vast herds of deer and antelope were encountered. Also many beaver and salmon were in the San Joaquin river.

1807. (a) Ensign Gabriel Moraga led a party across the San Joaquin valley into the mountains east of it, but left no details of the trip.

(b) A big fight was reported between gentiles and neophytes at Carquinez strait.

1809. (a) In October a sergeant and fifteen men spent twenty days visiting the villages of the northern San Joaquin valley, but no details are available.

(b) From January to August of this year the Russians with headquarters at Bodega bay were exploring the country north of San Francisco bay. It seems possible that they may have pushed as far in as the western edge of the central valley. At any rate from 1810 to 1812 the Aleut sea-otter hunters of the Russians were operating on San Francisco bay; and by 1811 the Russians had explored the Russian river for at least fifty miles from the sea.

1810. (a) Ensign Gabriel Moraga punished the Indians in the village of *Sespesuya* near Carquinez strait on the north side.

(b) In August Moraga conducted another expedition which was recorded by Padre Viader. They went from Mission San José north to the south shore of Suisun bay, southeast up the San Joaquin river along the west edge of the marsh as far as San Luis Gonzaga creek, thence westerly over the Coast range to Mission San Juan Bautista, i.e., their route from the San Joaquin was the same as the Moraga-Muñoz route to that river in 1806.

(c) In October Moraga and Viader were again in this region. They crossed the mountains from Mission San José via Livermore valley to the San Joaquin river at *Pescadero*, and went southeast up the San Joaquin along the western edge of the marsh. At a ford a little north of the mouth of the Tuolumne river they crossed the San Joaquin, and, after exploring to the northeast a short distance, proceeded southeast up the San Joaquin on its eastern bank until they were a little south of the Merced river. Here they crossed to the western bank of the San Joaquin, turned back to the northwest, and after reaching a little north of the mouth of the Tuolumne river turned west and crossed the Coast range to Santa Clara mission.

The villages near *Pescadero* seem to have contained as many Christians as gentiles and many of the former were captured and sent back to San José. Between the *Jumites* and *Fugites* they met four women gathering seed, although the main settlements seem to have been east of the river. The *Cuyens* were also met on the west bank and after presenting the Spaniards with three salmon accompanied them to the *Mayemes*, also on the west bank. Neither of these groups appeared to have villages. This lack, the friendliness existing between them, and the similarity in names to adjacent Miwok villages listed by Kroeber⁴ on the Cosumnes river, *Mayeman* and *Chuyumkatat*, suggest that these groups were not generally resident where the Spaniards found them but were rather a hunting or fishing party. A further suggestion of such shifting is the fact that the people of the *Tavalames* village were away in the mountains.

1811. In October Sergeant Sanchez and Padre Abella led a boat expedition through Carquinez strait, up the western channel of the San Joaquin river to its divergence from the main channel, thence down the eastern channel to its junction with the western channel, then through Two-mile slough to the Sacramento river, and down it to Suisun bay and the strait again.

1813. Sergeant Soto went up the San Joaquin with twelve soldiers and 100 Indians and on October 27 had a battle with the forces of four villages on a marshy island. The Alcalde Julio of Mission San

⁴ A. L. Kroeber, B. A. E. Bull. 78, pl. 37, 1925.

José was killed. This expedition was directed against the *Unsumnes*. On May 21, 1817, when in the vicinity of T5N, R4, Padre Duran reported that "near here the alcalde of San José was killed in 1813." Hence the *Unsumnes* are probably to be identified with the *Cosumnes*.

1817. In May Lieutenant Luis Argüello and Padre Narciso Duran headed a boat party up the Sacramento river. They kept to the western channels until just south of the mouth of the American river where they turned around. Coming down the river they kept to the eastern channels until the junction of the Mokelumne and San Joaquin was reached. From this point one division explored the islands to the northwest and west while the other division ascended the eastern channel of the San Joaquin as far as Calaveras river. Turning around here they descended the San Joaquin to Suisun bay.

In addition to the groups mentioned, a few pertinent facts were recorded. The only rafts observed were on the Sacramento near Grand island. Some of the thirty-five houses of *Chucumnes* were forty to fifty paces in circumference. Near *Chupumne* two other villages were seen in the distance and an old one "on the water's edge." Near here the Indians gave them "torous a kind of pounded soap root."

Fugitives from Mission San José were living on the islands near the mouth of the Mokelumne river. The *Nototemnes* had "already become Christians at San José; they used to live almost in the center of the tule region." The *Passasimas* village had to be reached on foot, and it is definitely stated that the *Yatchicomnes* and *Moguelemnes* live on the mainland and reach the slope of the Sierra Nevada. They said that "that which appears white is rock and not snow." The *Passasimas* "told us stories about there being civilized people on the other side of the Sierra Nevada." This familiarity with the high Sierran country and the receipt of news from beyond is suggestive as to the range of these people toward the east.

1819. In October Sergeant José Sanchez attacked the *Muquelemes* near the confluence of the Calaveras and San Joaquin rivers, killing twenty-seven Indians and capturing forty-nine horses. The possession of horses, to the extent indicated by this foray, by Indians so far from the Spanish settlements is worthy of emphasis. Various cultural traits must have come in with the horses.

1820. (a) Sanchez again led an expedition into this region recovering seventy horses from the *Cosumnes*.

(b) Soto went to the Mariposas village of *Nopochinches*.

1821. Captain Luis Argüello and Padre Ordaz headed an exploring party to the north which was away from San Francisco from October 22 to November 15. This was the first recorded land expedition up the Sacramento valley. Heading northeast from Suisun bay they seem to have kept well away from the Sacramento until they struck it

above the mouth of Bear river. Proceeding north along the Sacramento the expedition reached the latitude of Chico on the Sacramento river, turned west, and returned via the Russian river valley. The villages noted are vaguely located and generally beyond the limits of our map. The nearer ones are:

Name	Population	Location	Kroeber's equivalents
Gualactos.....	.....	Near Uhlalos	.....
Uhlalos.....	.....	Vaca creek	.....
Libaytos.....	400	Putah creek	.....
Ehila.....	900	Cache creek	.....
Goroy.....	1000	Sacramento river	Yodoi
Guititoy or Guitistoy.....	1600	Sacramento river	.....
Capá.....	.....	Sacramento river	Gapa
Coria.....	.....	Sacramento river	Koru
Cha.....	1500	Sacramento river	Cha

Other villages noted north of Cha and on the return trip are omitted. All of these Sacramento valley villages seem much larger than those reported from the Delta region.

1823. (a) Ensign Sanchez and Padre Altimura traveled in the region north and east of Suisun bay. They reported the following villages:

Hulatos or Ulatos.....	5 leagues NE of Suisunes. (See 1821.)
Lybailos.....	3 leagues NE of Ulatos. (See 1821.)
Chemocoylos.....	?
Sucuntos.....	?
Ompines.....	North of Sacramento river. (See fig. 1.)

(b) Otto von Kotzebue, captain of the Russian frigate *Predpriatie*, spent November 18-20 with a party of his countrymen and Aleuts ascending the Sacramento. They got no farther than ten miles beyond the east end of Suisun bay. He reported that the *Korekines* were all gone from the region of the confluence of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers; and that the *Tschupuhanes* and *Hulpunes* (*Chupcanes* and *Julpunes*?) "used to live" in the region where he turned around. He was greatly impressed by the "superfluity of game" of all kinds—fish, birds, and quadrupeds.

1826. From November 19 to 27 Ensign Sanchez was engaged in an attack upon the *Cosemenes*, who had killed twenty or thirty neophytes from San José. The *Cosemenes* were victorious although forty of them were killed.

1827-1834. In 1827 Jedediah Smith with a party of American trappers traversed the central valley from the south to the vicinity of

* B. A. E. Bull. 78, pl. 34, 1925.

the Delta region. Leaving his men camped, possibly near the Calaveras river, Smith in May made the first white-man crossing of the Sierra Nevada. He returned in October and his party later traversed the northern part of California. This visit inaugurated the overland influx of white men into the central valley. At first, especially in the region we are considering, these were trappers, and they are almost entirely unrecorded. In 1828 McLeod, of the Hudson's Bay Company, was in the Sacramento valley, and in 1829 Ogden, of the same company. In 1830 Ewing Young and a party were in the Delta region. In 1833 Walker and forty men arrived, possibly by the American river route. In addition, in each of the years after 1832 the Hudson's Bay Company seems to have maintained a party of beaver hunters in the central valley, apparently with headquarters in the vicinity of Stockton where a locality is still known as French Camp. These expeditions and the many visits which were no doubt made but not recorded left no direct data. It seems obvious, however, that with such numerous groups living among the Indians of our area, the occasional visits of the Mexicans became of little importance.

Perhaps connected with this influx of trappers was a terrible pestilence in the form of an intermittent fever which swept the central valley in 1833 and almost depopulated the valley. A party of trappers passing through in the autumn of 1832 noted a numerous Indian population; but in the summer of 1833 they encountered only five living Indians from the head of the Sacramento valley to Kings river. This epidemic must have had an enormous effect on the location of the population.

The final cause tending to make this interval a period of great change was the secularization of the missions in 1834. This stopped many of the expeditions to the interior Indians. Also it released the mission Indians, many of whom no doubt returned to their old homes in the central valley.

SIZE OF POPULATION

The size of the population encountered by the early expeditions can be approximated only in a general way. The Moraga-Muñoz expedition of 1806 reported about sixteen villages in an area of about 1600 square miles between the Calaveras and Merced rivers. These villages seem to have averaged about 200 persons each, so that the population ran about two persons per square mile. Along the main rivers villages seem to have existed from five to ten miles apart. If

this were true on the cross-channels as well, the population in the marsh area might well have been as high as ten persons per square mile. But on account of the uninhabitable nature of much of this area this estimate is probably too high. In the Delta region (say from T5N to T2S inclusive and from R8E to Carquinez strait) there are about 1500 square miles of valley land. With the above figures as minimum and maximum, the population would have been from 3000 to 15,000.

According to the figures given by the expedition of 1821 which traversed the Sacramento valley, the villages in that region were much larger than those of the lower San Joaquin river. This seems reasonable on account of the smaller extent of marsh and nearer hinterland.

Whatever the original population, it probably suffered a continuous reduction through the operations of the missions, and in 1833 there must have been an enormous decrease. Subsequently this decrease continued until in 1852 the census records 379 Indians in San Joaquin county (nearly equivalent to the Delta area). By 1860 the population was given as 41, and in 1870 as 5.⁶

SITUATION OF POPULATION

The village sites reported are all near the larger watercourses. One might suspect this to be due to the fact that the reporters more frequently followed the larger streams. However, the explorers indicated a willingness to visit all villages they heard about and were accompanied by guides familiar with the country and its inhabitants. *Taulamne* on the Stanislaus river was situated on "an inaccessible rock." But more frequently the site showed an intimate relation between human life and the marsh. The villages were "a few paces from the water," "amid the reeds," "near the water's edge," or "between two rivers." In some cases it seems obvious that this intimate relation reflects the practice of seasonal visits, of coming to the marsh definitely for certain benefits which it offered. See the *Taulamne* or the *Cuyens* and *Mayemes* described below.

This mobility of the population is indicated, however, in a much more striking manner. The most outstanding feature of the location of the population was its almost entire absence from the western bank of the San Joaquin river. Indians were found south and north of Suisun bay, on both sides of the Sacramento river, and east of the San

⁶ George H. Tinkham, *History of the state of California and biographical record of San Joaquin county*, 1, 260, 1909.

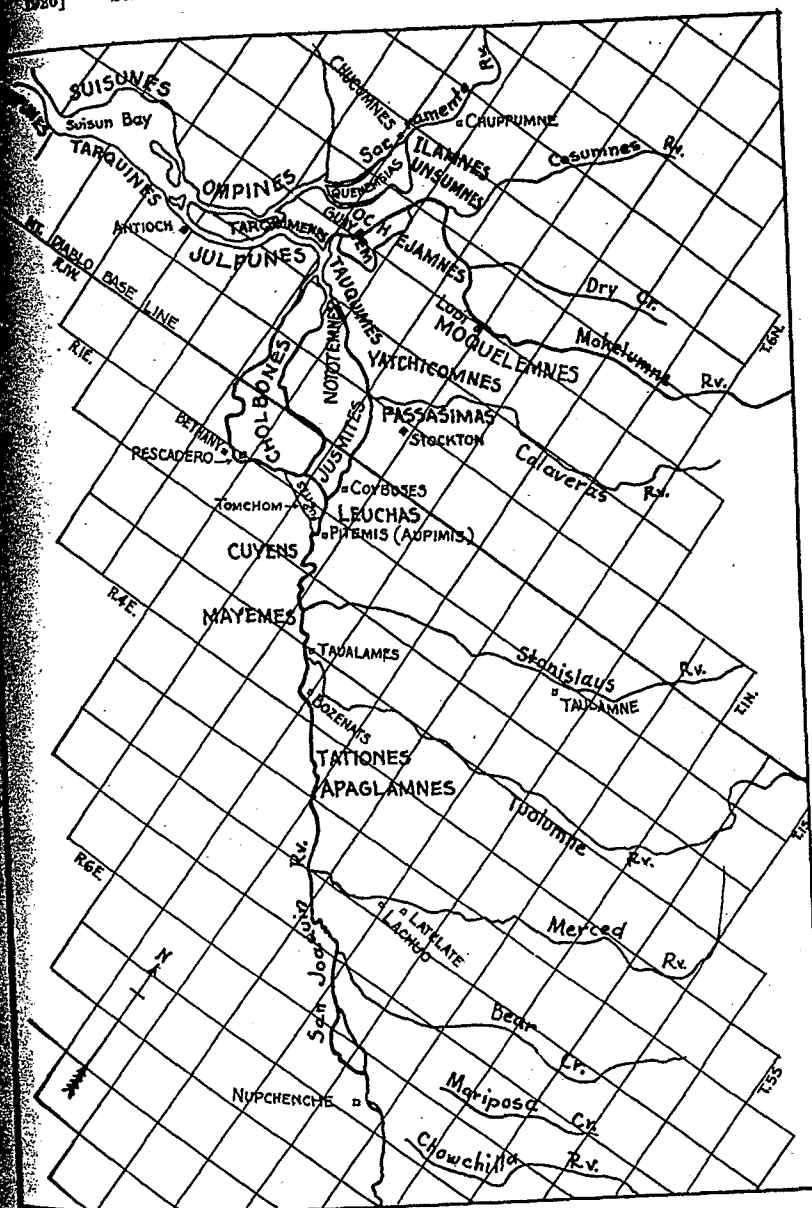


Fig. 1. Map showing location, according to streams, of groups mentioned in Spanish reports.

Joaquin river. From all these regions access could be had to a more or less hilly back country offering radically different attractions from the marsh in the way of streams, game, and vegetable foods. West of the San Joaquin river the low ranges were arid and uninhabited beyond was the Bay region, which however was occupied by foreign groups. One must apparently conclude that the units of the population were situated so that they could have access to a hilly hinterland as well as to the marsh, thus taking advantage of both aspects of the habitat, and dwelling in neither continuously.

CLASSIFICATION OF POPULATION

C. Hart Merriam has worked out a classification and distribution of the inhabitants of the Delta region, basing his results mainly on ethnological field data.⁷ A. L. Kroeber⁸ has also done this work but in a broader way. The early historical accounts do not exactly coincide with these ethnological determinations. In all cases the information is meager. But since the differences may be due to readjustments of the groups during the century between the Spanish explorations and the ethnological work, it seems advisable to reconsider the earlier data in detail.

In table 1 every group reported by the expeditions which we have listed is tabulated, even though it is obvious in some cases that two or more references are to the same group, e.g., *Ompines* and *Tompines*. Such cases are bracketed with a round bracket. In other cases the similarity of reported names, an identity of situation, collateral information, or all three make it apparent that several reported groups really constitute a single larger group. These cases are bracketed with a square bracket. Column two of the table indicates whether the padres' diaries deal with a single village or a larger group.

The diaries give sites and habitats according to streams, directions traveled, and distances, hence sometimes they are vague. The map, figure 1, shows the locations as deduced from the diaries, more specific details in modern terminology being included in table 1. A second map, figure 2, reconstructs the major groups and their probable areas.

Tarquines

From the similarity of the names one has little hesitancy in identifying the *Tarquines*, the *Tarquimenes*, and the *Tauquimes* as a single group. It seems to have stretched from east to west entirely across the marsh area between the main channels of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, and then to have extended along the southern shore of

⁷ C. Hart Merriam, Distribution and classification of the Mewan stock of California, American Anthropologist, n. s. ix, 338-357, 1907.

⁸ A. L. Kroeber, B. A. E., Bull. 78, chaps. 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, 1925.

TABLE 1.—Classification of the population in the San Joaquin-Sacramento delta region according to early Spanish reports.

Name reported	Reported by expedition of	Village or group	Location
<i>Tarquines</i>	1810 b	Group	S. shores Suisun bay.
<i>Tarquimenes</i>	1811	Group	N. San Joaquin about T3N R3E.
<i>Tauquimes</i>	1817	Group	E. San Joaquin about T3N R4E.
<i>Guaypéms</i> (or <i>Quaypéms</i>)	1817	Village	SW, T4N R4E.
<i>Tulpunes</i>	1810 b	Group	San Joaquin R2-3E.
<i>Julpunes</i>	1817	Group	Same vicinity.
<i>Ompines</i>	1811	Group	"Between Tarquimenes and Suisunes."
<i>Tompines</i>	1817, 1823	Group	N. Sacramento from Suisun bay to Cache slough.
<i>Cholboones</i>	1810 b	Group	Between San Joaquin channels T3N to T2S.
<i>Choloones</i>	1810 c	Group	Between San Joaquin channels T3N to T2S.
<i>Cholvones</i>	1811	Group	Between San Joaquin channels T3N to T2S.
<i>Pescadero Jusmiles</i>	1810 b, c, 1811	Village+ Village+	W. San Joaquin, T2S R4E.
<i>Cosmistas</i>	1811	Village+	Between San Joaquin channels T1S R6E.
<i>Fuñiles</i>	1810 c	Village+	Between San Joaquin channels near center T2S R6E.
<i>Tugiles</i>	1810 c	Village+	Between San Joaquin channels near center T2S R6E.
<i>Tomchom</i>	1810 b	Village	E. San Joaquin, NW corner T2S R6E.
<i>Nototemnes</i>	1817	Village+	Between San Joaquin channels in T2N R4-5E.
<i>Yatchicomnes</i>	1817	Group	E. San Joaquin, T2N R5E.
<i>Moguëlemnes</i>	1817	Group	Lower reaches Mokelumne river above Dry creek.
<i>Moguëlemnes</i>	1819	Group	Lower reaches Mokelumne river above Dry creek.
<i>Passasimas</i>	1817	Group+	E. San Joaquin; S. Calaveras.
<i>Coybozes</i>	1811	Village	E. San Joaquin, near center T1S R6E.
<i>Leuchas</i>	1805	Village+	San Joaquin about T2S.
<i>Pilemis</i>	1805	Village	E. San Joaquin about T2S R6E.
<i>Aupimis</i>	1810 b	Village	E. San Joaquin about T2S R6E.
<i>Taulamne</i>	1806 c	Village (200)	Stanislaus river, T2S R10E.
<i>Tawalames</i>	1810 c	Village	E. San Joaquin, just N. Tuolumne river mouth.
<i>Cuyens</i>	1810 b, c	Village	W. San Joaquin SE part T2S R6E.
<i>Maijem</i>	1810 b	Village	W. San Joaquin SW part T3S R7E.
<i>Mayemes</i>	1810 c	Village	W. San Joaquin SW part T3S R7E.

TABLE 1—(Continued)

Name reported	Reported by expedition of	Village or group	Location
<i>Bozenats</i>	1810 b	Village	E. San Joaquin, SE part T4S R7E
<i>Tationes</i>	1810 b	Village+	E. San Joaquin, NW part T5S R8E
<i>Tatives</i>	1810 c	Village+	E. San Joaquin, NW part T5S R8E
<i>Apaglamnes</i>	1810 b	Village+	E. San Joaquin, SE part T5S R8E
<i>Apelamenes</i>	1810 c	Village+	E. San Joaquin, SE part T5S R8E
<i>Latelate</i>	1806 c	Village (200)	S. bank Merced about R 10-11E.
<i>Lachuo</i>	1806 c	Village (200)	Near Latelate.
<i>Nupchenche</i>	1806 c	Village (250)	W? San Joaquin between Chowchilla and Mariposa.
<i>Nopochinches</i>	1820	Village	W? San Joaquin between Chowchilla and Mariposa.
<i>Ochejamnes</i>	1817	Village+	Near Sec. 2, T4N R4E.
<i>Unsumnes</i>	1813, 1817	Group	N. Mokelumne, SE part T5N R4E.
<i>Cosumnes</i>	1820	Group	?
<i>Iamnes</i>	1817	Village+	T5N R4E.
<i>Quenemsias</i>	1817	Group	Southern part Grand island.
<i>Chucumes</i>	1817	Village	W? Sacramento, near Sec. 1, T5N R3E.
<i>Chuppumne</i>	1817	Village	E. Sacramento, near center T6N R4E.
<i>Suisunes</i>	1811	Group	North of Suisun bay.
<i>Chupunes</i>	1811	Group	S. shore, east end Carquinez strait.
<i>Chupcanes</i>	1817	Group	S. shore, east end Carquinez strait.
<i>Huchones</i>	1811	Group	Pinole region, San Pablo bay.

Suisun bay. On the east it did not reach beyond the marshy area. There is some doubt as to the region just east of Suisun bay between the rivers. Neither the *Ompines*, the *Tulpunes*, nor the *Tarquines* are specifically located here in the accounts. But since the *Tarquines* are named as both to the east and the west, it seems likely that their habitat was unbroken here. It could be expected that the group would include at least one shore of Carquinez strait, which was evidently named for them. Both the 1811 and 1817 accounts definitely place the *Chupunes* on the south shore of the actual strait. Kroeber states that *Karkit-n* appears to have been a Patwin village north of Suisun bay;⁹ but in Spanish times the *Suisunes* were along most of this north shore with the *Ompines* to their east.

Guaypéms

The village of Guaypéms (or Quaypéms), near the mouth of the Mokelumne river, is probably to be identified, both on account of the name and location, with Merriam's Wipa group.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 356.

Julpunes

The *Julpunes* (or *Tulpunes*) were along the San Joaquin river east of Suisun bay in 1810 and 1817; but it is not clear whether they were on the north bank as well as the south bank. In 1823, Kotzebue speaks rather vaguely of them as having lived in the region allotted to the *Ompines* in figure 2. There is a possibility that the *Julpunes* and *Ompines* composed one group extending north and south across both rivers. The land-grant *Ulpinos* is shown in the northeastern part of our *Ompines* area. *Ulpinos* has phonetic similarity to *Julpunes*. Merriam puts the *Hulpumne* (map) or *Hulpoomne* (text) on the east bank of the Sacramento river a few miles south of the mouth of the American river.¹⁰ The *Hulpumne* certainly seem identifiable with the *Julpunes*. If so, the great difference in situation must be accounted for. Merriam may have the original habitat, and the groups noted by the Spaniards may have been transient parties. Why such a shift would be made is not clear since there would be no marked change in environment. Also the groups would have remained in their transient habitats at least seven years. It seems rather more likely that a movement of the population was involved, the *Julpunes*, driven from their earlier habitat south of the San Joaquin river, crossing to the north bank of the Sacramento and subsequently retiring up that stream.

Ompines

The possibility of the *Ompines* or *Tompines* being identifiable with the *Julpunes* has been mentioned.

Cholbones

The *Cholbōnes*, *Choloones*, *Cholvones*, the village called *Pescadero* by the Spaniards, and an unnamed village all refer to the same group of people found between the western and middle channels of the San Joaquin river. The name *Pescadero* seems to indicate that this was a particularly good fishing place. The location was otherwise good, since here (near the modern Bethany) the river swings close to the hills culminating in Mount Diablo. At any rate here was a favorite rendezvous and possibly the principal village of the *Cholbones*.

Kroeber identifies the *Cholbones* with the *Chulamni*, the "most northerly Yokuts tribe"; and he thinks "their territory extended at

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 348.

least some miles down the San Joaquin and up the Calaveras; probably also across the former stream, possibly as far west as Mount Diablo. Kroeber also says that they inhabited *Yachik* and *Wana* near Stockton.¹¹ Merriam states that the *Chilum'ne* (which we also identify with the *Cholbones*) "occupied the lower Calaveras river country and reached north to the territory of the *Mokelumne*." He places the *Yatchachumne* about where Kroeber places the *Chulamni*. Our interpretation of the Spanish annals agrees with neither exactly but more closely with Kroeber. Between the middle and eastern San Joaquin channels, in the north, the Spanish reported the *Nototemes* (fig. 1). This name seems identifiable with Kroeber's Yokuts name *Nututamne* meaning "upstream people." In the southern part of the same inter-channel area the Spanish found the *Jusmites* or the *Cosmistas*, the two names obviously referring to the same group. These terms seem identifiable with Kroeber's *Kosmitas*, a Yokuts word meaning "northern people." This use of Yokuts directional designations for groups makes us regard these groups as divisions of the larger Yokuts group, the *Cholbones* or *Chulamni*. South of the *Jusmites* were the *Fugites* or *Tugites* with a village named after its chief, *Tomchom*. As these are still within the San Joaquin delta, we have included them as *Cholbones* groups. Apparently the *Cholbones* did not extend east of the eastern channel of the San Joaquin (fig. 1). The Moraga-Muñoz expedition of 1806 mentioned the Indians apparently on the Calaveras as totally different from the other Indians encountered, and this expedition had just been among the *Cholbones*. Moreover, the later expeditions very definitely assign the area between the Calaveras and the Mokelumne rivers to the *Yatchicomnes*, *Moquélémnes*, and *Tauquimnes* (q.v.).

Yatchicomnes

Kroeber not only says that the village of *Yachik* was inhabited by a division of the *Chulamni*, but that "*Yachik*, *Yachikamne* and *Yachimesi* refer only to village sites or the inhabitants of particular places, instead of being tribal names."¹² Merriam, however, makes the *Yatchachumne* a tribe extending across the lower San Joaquin valley floor; and the 1817 expedition considered them a group on a par with the *Moquélémnes* and stated that they lived east of the San Joaquin mostly on the mainland and reached to the slope of the Sierra Nevada. This is evidently not the description of a single village. It

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 484-86.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 485.

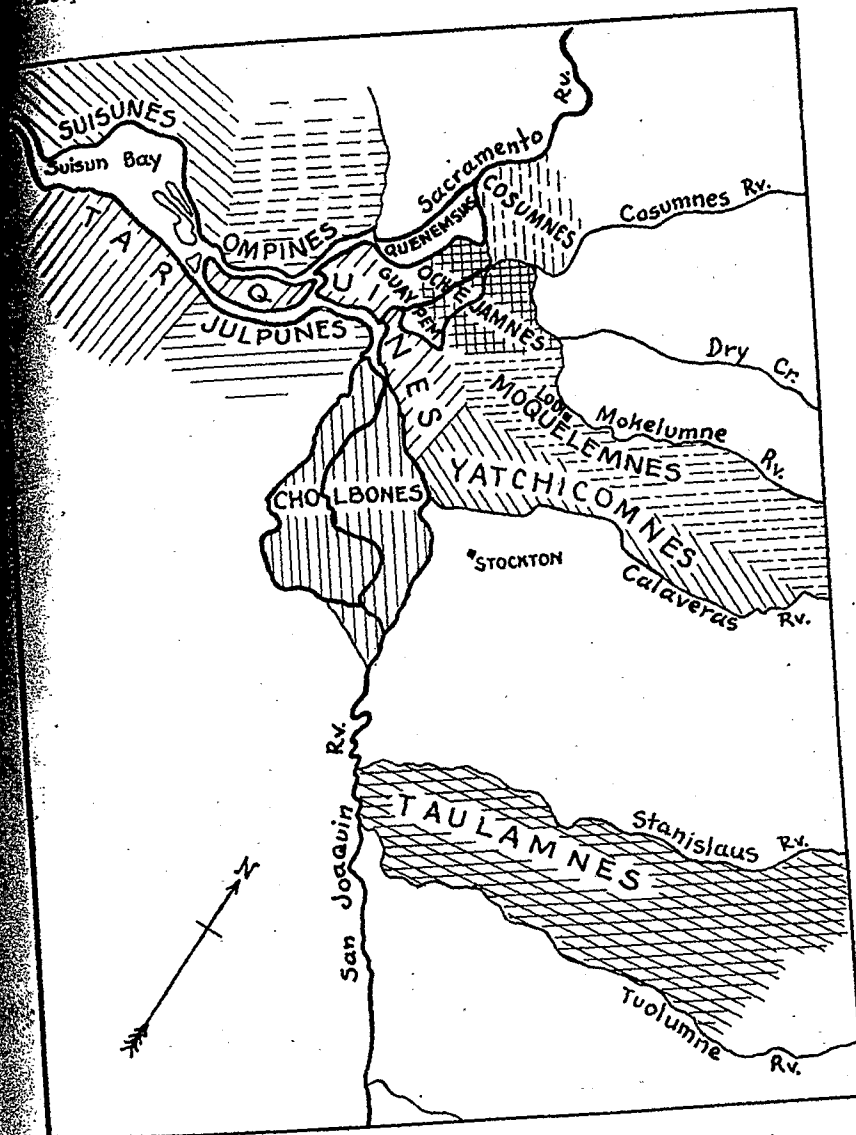


Fig. 2. Map showing probable areas occupied by the major groups of the aboriginal population in the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta region.

seems more probable that the inhabitants of *Yachik* were not *Chulams* (Yokuts), but *Yatchicomnes* (Miwok). The territory assigned to the *Yatchicomnes* by the Spaniards seems to have been east of the San Joaquin and along the Calaveras into the foothills. In the marsh there adjoined the *Tarquines*, and on the higher slopes the *Moquélemnes*. Whether they extended south of the Calaveras is uncertain but doubtful. The territory of the *Cholbones* and the *Yatchicomnes* is reversed in the assignments of the Spaniards and of Merriam. A shifting would not seem to account for such a difference. The Spaniards are definite and Merriam doubtful about the *Yatchicomnes*. Kroeber agrees with the Spaniards' *Cholbones* location.

Moquélemnes

These were reported by the Spaniards as northeast of the *Passasimas*, and adjoining the *Yatchicomnes* with whom they associated themselves in warlike enterprises. Like the latter they lived mostly on the mainland and reached to the slope of the Sierra Nevada and informed "us that that which appears white is rock, not snow." This familiarity with the highlands seems to place them as a Miwok group, undoubtedly Kroeber's *Mokelumni* and Merriam's *Mokalumne*. The *Moquélemnes* do not seem to have extended into the marsh area but only to its edge. They are reported in practically the same habitat by all observers and remained there even to modern times. They were in possession of horses by 1819, and seem to have made a determined and successful resistance to the Spaniards.

Passasimas

Whether this group was more than a village is not certain. The village visited in 1817 was east of the San Joaquin, some distance from that river and apparently south of the Calaveras, probably within the limits of the present city of Stockton. The people had been at the mission many times, and "here again they told us stories about there being civilized people on the other side of the Sierra Nevada." This familiarity with eastern reports suggests a Miwok group.

Groups between the Calaveras and Stanislaus rivers

This area is assigned by Merriam to the *Siakumne*. The Spaniards reported along the San Joaquin river in this vicinity *Passasimas*, *Coyboses*, *Leuchas*, *Pitemis*, *Aupimis*. These appear to have been on

the eastern bank, but it is possible that they were west of the eastern channel and are *Cholbones*. *Pitemis* is a village of the *Leuchas* and it seems that *Aupimis* is to be identified with it. The *Leuchas* might possibly be identified with Kroeber's *Lakisamni* (Yokuts) on the Stanislaus river.

Taulamne

The villages of *Taulamne* and *Taiqlames* are both definitely placed, the former on an inaccessible rock on the Stanislaus river in the foothills, the latter at the ford of the San Joaquin just below the mouth of the Tuolumne river. The inhabitants of *Taulamnes* had gone to the mountains. This seems to establish the region between the lower Tuolumne and Stanislaus rivers as *Taulamne* territory. Merriam agrees in assigning the same region to the *Tuolumne*. Kroeber states the *Tawalimni* were a Yokuts tribe.

Cuyens and Mayemes

The *Cuyens* and *Mayemes* (*Maijem*) are mentioned only by the 1810 expeditions. Some of them at least were encountered on the western bank of the San Joaquin north of the Stanislaus mouth, but whether they had villages, or on which bank these were situated, is not clear. The two groups are closely connected by the reporter. This intimacy and the suggestion that they were transients, lead to the conjecture that we may have here inhabitants of the two Miwok villages of *Chuyumkakat* and *Mayeman* which Kroeber places close together on the Cosumnes river. The suggestion is that the Cosumnes river villagers were on a hunting or fishing trip to the San Joaquin when met by the Spaniards. This part of the San Joaquin was apparently less settled than possible fishing places nearer their Cosumnes homes.

Groups south of the Tuolumne river

West of the San Joaquin river south of the Stanislaus no groups were reported unless *Nupchenche*, a village of Chief *Choley*, was on the west bank. East of the river were the villages of *Bozenats* (probably chief's name), *Latelate*, *Lachuo*, and the larger groups of *Tationes* and *Apaglames*. *Nupchenche* (*Nopochinches*) seem identifiable with Kroeber's *Nupchinche* or *Noptinte*, a Yokuts tribe.

Ochejamnes

In the account of 1817 only a village of forty houses was mentioned. This was on a slough connecting the Sacramento and Mokelumne rivers. Kroeber gives a Plains Miwok village *Ochehak* on Dry creek near its confluence with the Mokelumne, i.e., within five to ten miles of the Spanish mention. But Kroeber thinks the *Ochehamni* were probably a "political community." Merriam gives the *Ochehak* or *Ochakumne* as a group but locates them on Grand and Brannan islands, i.e., between the Sacramento and Mokelumne rivers in T3-5N. Brannan island was assigned to the *Tarquines*. The southern part of Grand island was where the Spaniards apparently placed the *Quenemsias*, who may have been a division of a larger group. At any rate the *Ochejamnes* may be placed below the *Moquélemnes* along the Mokelumne river.

Cosumnes

From their situation on the slough joining the Sacramento river with the Mokelumne, we identify the *Unsumnes* with the *Cosumnes* and place them north of the *Ochejamnes* east of the Sacramento and along the *Cosumnes* river. Like the *Moquélemnes* they seem to have offered a sturdy resistance to the Spaniards. The expedition of 1820 recovered seventy horses from them.

Ilamnes

This group was north of the *Cosumnes* either on Grand island or farther east on the mainland. It seems likely that they are identifiable with Kroeber's Plains Miwok "political community" the *Lelamni*, and village *Lelamni* on the lower *Cosumnes* river.

Guenemsias

The *Guenemsias* (or *Quenemsias*) were located on the southern part, or perhaps all, of Grand island.

Northern Groups

On the Sacramento river (west bank?) in the vicinity of Sec. 1, T5N, R3E, was a village of thirty-five houses, some of which were forty to fifty paces in circumference, called *Chucumes*. On the east bank of the river near the center of T6N, R4E, was a village called

Chuppumne. Neither of these can be identified with larger groups. From the phonetic similarity one would identify these with the *Chupunes*, yet there is clearly a radical difference in situation. The next villages to the north are those enumerated in the account of the expedition of 1821.

The *Ompines*, north of the Sacramento's mouth, and the *Suisunes*, north of Suisun bay, have been noted.

Western Groups

The *Chupunes* (*Chupcanes*), apparently a group, were located along the southern shore near the east end of *Carquinez* strait. West of the strait, also on the southern shore—in the Pinole region of San Pablo bay—were the *Huchones*.

FOOD SUPPLIES

The early accounts make few direct statements as to native food supplies. Shell-heaps near *Carquinez* strait are mentioned, also the gathering of seeds, the catching of salmon, and the eating of *toróus*, a kind of pounded root. But the immense herds of deer, elk, and antelope are spoken of a number of times, and later writers are astonished at the superabundance of these animals and of water fowl. It is probably impossible for us to conceive the quantity of such game and the ease with which it could be procured. Kotzebue stated that one could ride among the herds of deer without frightening them. Geese and ducks could be knocked over with a stick.

ABORIGINAL INTERCOURSE

The distribution of the population apparently in accordance with a demand for ready access to a non-marshy region has been noted. A number of incidents which imply that the population did actually so move have also been set down. There seems little doubt that a large part of the population ranged into the Sierras. It also seems that many of the same groups (e.g., *Cosumnes*, *Moquélemnes*) ordinarily made visits as far west as the San Francisco Bay region. The mission at San Francisco was established in 1776 and by 1797 those of Santa Clara and San José had been added. From the 1805 expedition it is seen that these Bay missions had been drawing converts from the great central valley although no proselytizing had been done there

unless the brief exploring parties of 1772 and 1776 may be so construed. Other accounts emphasize this securing of converts from afar. For example, the *Passassimas* "had been to the mission many times," the *Nototemnes* "had already become Christians at San José," refugees were sought among the *Cosumnes*, and horses were early acquired by the *Moquélemnes*. The suggestion is that the inhabitants of the Delta region had long been accustomed to make visits to the Bay. Continuing this practice after the arrival of the padres they were brought within the mission folds. The conclusion is that in late prehistoric times at least there was free intercourse throughout this area and a very considerable geographical range.

That much of this shifting was of a transient and periodic nature is suggested by the rather definite linguistic boundaries which ethnologists have drawn. Without doubt considerable groups of the *Cosumnes*, to take a single example, were frequently on San Francisco bay. But that their home sites were near the *Cosumnes* river seems likely because of their Plains Miwok linguistic affiliations.

The Bay region to which we have predicated these periodic excursions seems to have been occupied by local groups. But judging from their resistance to the Spaniards, their greater travels, their acquisition of Spanish cultural elements, one could perhaps justly conclude that the people of the central valley, and particularly of the Lodi-Stockton region, were made of somewhat sterner stuff. Consequently one would expect to find a more complicated culture and a cultural focus in this region.

Another aspect of aboriginal intercourse which is of interest to the archaeologist is that which was due to Spanish pressure. Runaways from the missions were numerous. Those from a distance who returned to their own homes spread widely mission ideas and at least some elements of Caucasian culture—witness, for example, the horses among the *Moquélemnes* and *Cosumnes*. The homes near the coast, however, were soon too much subject to Spanish interference and those who tired of mission life sought refuge in the great central valley. Many of the Spanish expeditions after 1805 were sent out to recover or punish these delinquents. The direct influence of the expeditions was great. Far more important must have been the influence of the ex-converts. Each year they probably amounted to five per cent of the population and as the influx continued for two or perhaps four generations it might be expected to have a marked effect upon the situation of the groups, the physical type, and the culture of the Delta region. The differences

between Merriam's group locations and ours have been cited as probable indications of the re-location of groups. The possible mixtures and modifications of physical types impose great caution in the interpretation of skeletal evidence as typical of certain groups or regions. It is hard to note radical differences in cultures that have remained as simple as those of central California. Yet one of our main purposes is to compare these cultures as exhibited by archaeological evidence. The Spanish annals remind one that he must be sure that he is dealing with indigenous traits and not those intruded through white influence during the century for which it operated before the ethnologist arrived.

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